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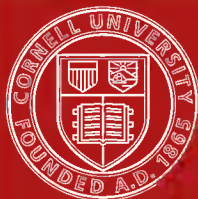
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The Economic - Geographical Foundations of the Upper Silesian Question

by

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With five Maps appended.

Upper Silesia.

The Versailles Peace-dictatorship provides for a plebiscite for Upper Silesia: Art. 88, Annex par 5, stipulates that the Inter-Allied Commission has to furnish a full report to the Principal Allied Powers as to the taking of the vote and a recommendation as to the frontier line; in this recommendation regard will be paid to the wishes of the inhabitants as shown by the vote, and to the geographical and economic conditions of the locality. The foundation for a just decision is therefore provided therein; it is only a question of its being honestly fulfilled, that is to say, of what the Englishman calls 'fair-play'.

Much ink has already been spilt on all sides regarding the Upper Silesian Question; this fact clearly proves its immense importance.

The result of the plebiscite is definite and unambiguous: in spite of all difficulties, more than three-fifths of the inhabitants have decided for Germany. The other point, the geographical and economic conditions of the locality, is not so simple; in regard to the "economic conditions" an ambiguity is here apparent, on the one side there are the technical, the commercial, and the political economy questions – about these we will not discuss! – and on the other, the economic-geographical question, and the points of view of the dependence of the economy and of the economic individual upon the nature of the country. Man cannot freely practise economy, but is dependent upon climate and the fertility of the soil, upon the configuration of the surface and the practicability of the country, upon the mineral treasures, etc. These natural characteristics of the country, are favourable or unfavourable; upon them depends the economic structure of each locality. In addition to that, men who practise economy play a determining rôle, according to their number and quality, to their talent and degree of culture. From these two great chapters on the economic geography of Upper Silesia, on the "economic structure"

as well as on the "national structure," we shall endeavour to extract questions particularly interesting and important for the decision of the fate of Upper Silesia. In the first place some comprehensive words shall be devoted to the fundamental premises, the geographical position of Upper Silesia.

I.

The Geographical Position of Upper Silesia.

Be it great or small, its geographical position is decisive for the fate of every piece of ground. Upper Silesia lies in the northern moderate zone — in Europe — in Central Europe — in the heart of Central Europe — on the northern slope of the central mountain range, where the German secondary chain of mountains (Sudeten) meet the Carpathian range — in the Silesian bay of lowland, where the North German lowland, which extends from the Atlantic Ocean to the depth of Russia, indeed, to Western Siberia, swells in a funnel-shaped expansion from a width of 250 kilometres (Stettin—Bautzen—Görlitz) to a width of 500 kilometres (Danzig—Ratibor).

Each of these short expressions involves vital conditions for Upper Silesia!

Even the mountains richest in passes divide; therefore, the natural connection of Upper

Silesia lies to north of the mountains, to the east, or to the west, to Poland, Russia, or to Germany.

Besides the position, area is of importance. Traffic constitutes the conquering, if possible the ruling, of the area. Vast China is wrecked

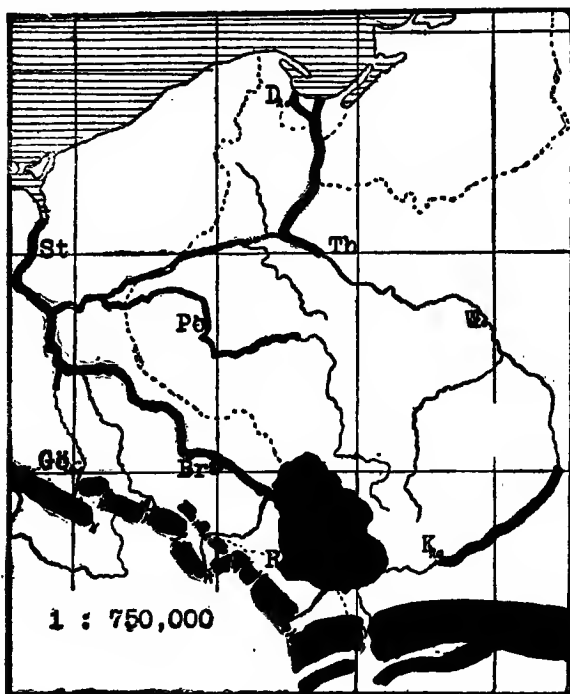


Fig. 1. The position of Upper Silesia.

The mountains are (in plan) shown black, with the passes left white. The regulated navigable portions of the rivers are heavily lined.

in the immeasurable difficulty of conquering its immense area! Upper Silesia in itself is small; therefore, the conquest of the Upper Silesian area offers no great difficulty; but Upper Silesia economically in all her needs is not self-supporting; on the contrary, absolutely dependent. Consequently, the position of Upper Silesia gains in importance to her neighbouring districts; the area to be overcome grows larger. How are favour and disfavour distributed towards the different directions? In the south the mountains afford a separating barrier; but from the Jablunka Pass to the Riesengebirge there is a great number of passes which make the mountains easy to be traversed. From the Jablunka Pass to the east, however, passes are entirely lacking over wide expanses; favour, therefore, in the south-west, disfavour in the south-east. Along the northern slope of the mountains an old traffic road leads from the far east into the heart of Germany, and further on to the west. This has been used to and fro for thousands of years by migratory hordes of peoples and peaceful commercial caravans: this constitutes favour in both directions. And, naturally, river-ways? From Upper Silesia the Oder, navigable for shipping,

runs towards the north-west and affords good possibilities for traffic. Towards the west flows the Vistula. As a regulated river, for a long distance it follows the mountain slope; in any case, some dozens of kilometres separate the starting point of its navigability from the centre of Upper Silesia. But then the Vistula, at a distance of 200 kilometres, flows as a wild unregulated river in a wide bend around the Upper Silesian country, and only becomes navigable again – 200 kilometres north of Upper Silesia – in West Prussia. Thus an immense area void of traffic lies eastward of Upper Silesia.

Upper Silesia itself is an intermediate country. The full favour of position and area, the natural road from east to west, the numerous mountain passes in the west, the navigable Oder, are enjoyed by central Silesia, Breslau; but Upper Silesia leans in its full width towards this traffic country favoured by nature, and, therefore, participates in its advantages. To the east, however, mountains void of passes, flat country poor in traffic. Consequently, the natural conditions knit Upper Silesia to the west. Upper Silesia is the natural outpost of

Breslau, as of the natural heart of central Silesia. The Leipzig district is the heart of Germany; the Breslau country, the door to the south-east, and Cracow, on account of its natural position, the outpost for traffic.

Man, with his culture and technics, cannot alter the natural situation; but he can convert it. Thus the oceanic position has superseded the continental position, far removed from the sea, by means of the high-sea navigation. Upper Silesia is pronouncedly continental; thus only the completion of the existing favour within her continental position can serve her, and the natural favour comes from the west.

An important relation of the position lies further in that to the centres of human settlement and the political position in the frame of the races and nations. Upper Silesia lies in the eastern promontory of thickly populated Europe (i. e., of over 100 inhabitants to the square kilometre). Politically it is situated unfavourably in its constricted position between Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, and Poles.

II.

The Economic Structure of Upper Silesia.

1. The Structure-Organism.

The structure of the Upper Silesian economy is entirely founded on the soil of Upper Silesia: on the poverty of the surface soil and the riches below it. The separation of the electoral district as laid down by the Entente has almost completely cut off the fertile West-Oder country from old Upper Silesia; well then, let us contemplate the cooped-up Upper Silesia!

Southern Upper Silesia is standing on strata of the coal-measures and the Later Paleozoic; the northern, on chalk and dolomite, sandstone and marl of the Trias period; in the zone from Oppeln to Leobschütz sand and marly limestone overlie the upper chalk, and further dispersed over the whole of Upper Silesia appear Ter-

tiary formations in smaller or greater proportion. The whole is covered by a varyingly thick layer of porous or impermeable, chiefly much disintegrated, diluvial formations which consist of a confused alternation of boulders, sands, etc. The decomposed products of the older rocks – generally strongly leached by the melting waters of the ice period – have only a limited fertility, and also the diluvial ground is mainly only of poor arable quality. The alluvial ground which is specially apparent in the Leobschütz district and the neighbouring territories alone is fertile; in the broad Oder valley, so far as it is not too marshy, there is valuable pasture land.

The value of the arable land is clearly shown by the net proceeds of the land-tax; the modern agriculturist might discover many draw-backs in it, but to us it affords a satisfactory comparison (Comp. Figure 2). With from 7 to 10 marks net proceeds from the land-tax per hectare of arable land, the East-Oder country belongs, almost in its full extent, to the worst economic district in the whole of Germany; in the north and north-west of Upper Silesia the proceeds rise from 10 to 15 marks per

hectare. More valuable arable land, with over 20 marks proceeds, and good ground, with more than 30 marks proceeds per hectare, we find only in the West-Oder country. This ex-

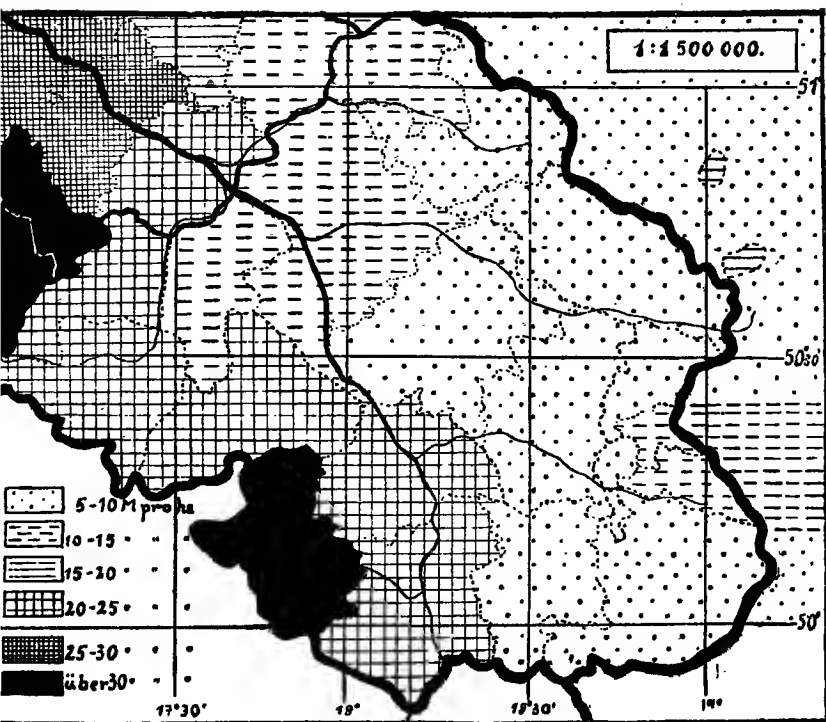


Fig. 2. Map showing the net proceeds of the Land Tax.

(For Poland, according to the Geological Map by R. Michael and the Land Map by Slawomir von Miklaszewski.)

plains how timber and poor-growing fir forests occupy immense areas of the plebiscite territory, which is rather more than 10,000 sq. kilometres in extent. The proportions are approximately as follows:

Arable land	55 %
Pasture land	7 %
Wooded country	34 %

About one-half of the entire wooded area is comprised in the three northern districts of Lublinitz, Oppeln and Rosenberg (together with a total of 13% of the entire arable land); whilst the four western districts of Leobschütz, together with Oberglogau, Kreuzburg, Cosel, and Ratibor, comprise nearly one-half of the agricultural country (together with only a proportion of 5% of the entire wooded country).

The remaining districts of Gross-Strehlitz, Tost, Gleiwitz, Pless, and Rybnik, as well as the industrial district of Tarnowitz, comprise rather more than one-third of the forest country and not quite two-thirds of the arable land.

In spite of all technical efforts, we have thus as a basis of existence in the east very meagre agriculture, which essentially consists of potatoes, rye, and the poorly-growing varieties of corn;

whilst in the west highly developed agriculture produces remarkable results, in connection with the rich agricultural districts of Central Silesia. In addition to that, there comes an intense forest and wood economy.

But, on the basis of agriculture and wood economy Upper Silesia would always have remained a poor and very little desirable country. History teaches this also; in the German Middle Ages it was commerce that always made Upper Silesia rich. Now there are the rich mineral treasures which nature has so lavishly hidden in the depths of the ground in Upper Silesia: nearly inexhaustible coal-fields, which appear at hundreds and hundreds of mètres in depth in the subterranean regions of the present industrial district, as well as of the districts of Rybnik and Pless; immense treasures in zinc and lead ore in the fossiliferous limestone of Central Upper Silesia, and iron ore in manifold varieties, perhaps a preponderance in its mineralogical species, but rich enough in numerous parts of Upper Silesia, scattered about, here richer, there poorer.

These rich mineral treasures affect the economic structure of Upper Silesia to its very

foundations. Already in the early eighteenth century a modest, but already flourishing iron industry was built up, especially in northern Silesia, in the districts of the Malapana and Stober; the thick forests furnished cheap wood for the smelting furnaces in superfluity. The picture was changed by the steam-engine, which made the coal a valuable fuel; and the railway the conqueror of space; the present industrial district, where coal and ore are lying side by side, began to develop, and the development grew more and more powerfully and has reached a high culminating point since electric power entered upon the scene as an ally in the fight. It is often and with pleasure heard, that the Upper Silesian industry has developed since some decades at an American rate of progress; this is intended to signify: greatest energy, highest intelligence, most rapid advancement, and, also, grandest material success. This is so, indeed. It is sufficiently known, and need not here occupy us further, that it has been German energy, and German intelligence, and German capital that have produced this development.

The production of zinc in Upper Silesia is the greatest in the whole of Europe; the quan-

tity produced amounts to 17.5% of the world's output; the lead produced represents one-fourth of the entire German production. Of coal, Upper Silesia raises 46 million tons (1913), nearly one-fourth of that raised in Germany, i. e., more than the whole of France, and double as much as Belgium produces annully. Besides this, the reserves of Upper Silesia are practically inexhaustible, and, with even an increased output, will still last for thousands of years. Heavy industries of the most astounding character go hand in hand with this; founderies, smelting-works, steel and rolling machinery, and machine factories of all descriptions, coke works, and chemical manufactories for the utilisation of by-products, manufactories of explosives, and numerous other works. On the Oder, at Oppeln and Krappitz and upstream, the Trias chalk and lime are manufactured in great quantities, and lime-kilns and cement works have attained great economic importance. The immense richness in wood in Upper Silesia is also interwoven in this industrial structure; mining requires immense quantities of wood for mining timber; wood for work and for building is consumed in abundance; in addition, there

come great paper factories and cellulose works, with strong requirements. Thus the wood which the inexhaustible Upper Silesian forests furnish no longer suffices, and to a million running mètres of self production in mining timber there must still be imported one-third of the necessary quantity. Therefore everything dove-tails, not only in the main industrial district proper, but far beyond it, in order to create a finely-worked-out entity of industrial works of high importance, comparable to a great piece of clock-work, wherein one little wheel intergrooves with another, wherein one helps the other, wherein the waste of one work often becomes the working power of another. There are so many difficulties arising from the continental position, competition, etc., that there is a necessity of the highest intelligence, of the most complete co-operation, of the most delicate methods, and of the best quality of labour, in order to overcome all obstacles and to achieve good results. We shall not refer here to the subsidiary works which depend upon the great main systems. The whole of Upper Silesia, and particularly the entire industrial district, through this delicately interwoven mechanism

becomes an indissoluble entity, from which no piece can be taken without far-reaching consequences.

Some other facts must here be mentioned: the railway system, which, by numberless main, and subsidiary, and loop lines, by small and by field railways, connects the centres of unremitting production with one another, and are connected with the distant lines; the electric power and light connections, extending over thousands of kilometres, as well, finally, as the intricate network of pipes which supply the entire industrial district with drinking and service water (Comp. herewith Map 3). Here again, the highest organisation means the greatest simplification, but together with internal and external mutual dependence on account of the unification. Two powerful main power-stations provide the electric force which, through a centralised system of supply works, is distributed among the thousands of consumers. For mining the electric power has become nearly a vital question, but also for the smelting-works and other industrial establishments completely indispensable; water-conserving and winding engines, particularly for hauling in shafts, drilling machines, and a

thousand other machines, are worked by electricity, and all the works are likewise run by electricity. Besides, the electric current plays a great rôle in the different kinds of transport, electric railways, etc. It need scarcely be said that in addition to the central station private current-producing stations of different sizes and importance are also at work.

Mining and other industries have concentrated hundreds of thousands of people within a narrow compass; they all need water. The works also require water in an unlimited quantity. Nature does not easily provide this; indeed, on the contrary, the natural supply of water is in itself not very plentiful. The number of the rivers, on account of the permeability of widely distributed rock, particularly chalk, is small; through the absolutely necessary drainage in connection with the mineral and coal mining works the level of the subterraneous water has sunk, indeed, often it has given out. Thus technical aid must provide the necessary water. The Trias limestone, which is situated north of the coal formations of the leading industrial district, carries water. Five large water-works — Laband, 7 kilometres north-west of Gleiwitz;

Zawade, 10 kilometres north of Gleiwitz; Adöls-Schacht, near Tarnowitz; Rosalie-Grube, 7 kilometres east of Beuthen, and Donnersmarckhütte-Grube, 4 kilometres north of Hindenburg — besides some small subsidiary works, supply the entire industrial district with water, with the help of pipe systems many miles in length. (Comp. Maps 1 & 2). The coal districts thrown back on themselves are given over to death from thirst. This fact must not be forgotten in connection with the coming coal districts of Rybnik and Pless; for them also the question of water supply will be a vital question as soon as industry has seized them in a tighter grasp; whence, then, shall they derive their water supply? Consequently, the need of water fetters the coal districts and the northern fossiliferous limestone districts in closer bonds than steel bands or iron chains would ever be able to do! Now, if we contemplate Map No. 1. we can observe that a deeper meaning is given to the various lines: the industrial district is a finely knitted together organism; not chance, but a deep design is governing the question; not one link can be broken without bringing the whole into danger. Man is endowed with two legs

and two arms, two lungs and two lobes of the brain: to divide the industrial district would be like bisecting men and demanding that each leg shall run by itself, each lung perform its office separately. And how far does this indivisible district extend? In the separation it will be shown whether the Entente will fulfil the promise of fair play given to us. Is it only the water question that unites the industrial district? Or, is it the entire economic structure, the work of co-operation between coal, iron and zinc in close proximity to lime and wood? Do not the coal-fields of Rybnik and Pless, poor in minerals, belong to it in the same way as the forests of the districts of Lubninitz or Rosenberg, or the porcelain cement manufactories of Oppeln? Does it not mean, depriving them of the atmosphere if their future is cut short? The unity of Upper Silesia is no empty illusion, no phrase invented in order to make us keep the rich country; as in England, as in the United States, so has the simultaneous appearance of coal and minerals produced a powerful industry in Upper Silesia – an island in the midst of agricultural East Elbia – and drawn from the neighbourhood within its spell all

that is of use to it; now the mighty Moloch industry is there! That it is German force which created it does not matter for the moment. If it will be allowed to thrive, its tap root must not be cut away, the atmosphere it breathes must not be taken from it: no stone from its finely-joined structure! ~ That is fair play! That which Upper Silesia means for the world economy and the "reparation" does not come within the scope of this sketch. That German force erected the building? All the better for us; why have the others not done it? For the great question of the indivisibility of Upper Silesia this is unimportant!

The picture of the economic structure of Upper Silesia would be incomplete if no mention were made of commerce and handicraft. The immense concentration of human beings and the almost immeasurable production of goods led to vital requirements which must be satisfied to the fullest extent; production necessitates sale; thus commerce and trade play an exceedingly important part in the picture of the economic life of Upper Silesia. But it is not the technical side of the fitting-in of the structure which here is of interest to us, but the geo-

graphical side of it, especially the traffic-geographical consequences.

This powerful organism stands in the most intimate relation of exchange to the entire German life, and has been completely focussed on this relation of exchange; on it depends its existence and its functions. The Upper Silesian soil provides the raw material, but the manufacturing, and the kind of the manufactured products, is based on harmony with the other Germany industries; it cannot easily be inverted. The entire money question, capital, credit, etc., is also implanted in the German economic life. The whole of the capital and material value of a coal-mine is turned over several times a year in the form of salaries and administration costs; it is the same throughout the entire industry. Immense current credit makes claim on every pay day. The whole financial economy can only be met in close connection with very strong financial establishments, such as the Reichsbank and our great banking concerns. Likewise here every inversion brings the greatest dangers with it. And, finally, the question of the personal. It is German spirit that has created the Upper Silesian industry;

German heads and hands that are sustaining it and further developing it. German is the administration, German are the officials and employees, German the foremen, the machine hands, etc. Whether born in Upper Silesia or in the Reich it makes no difference – they are of German culture. About 200,000 votes have been given by Germans in the industrial district. (Comp. following Ill. 4). How shall the tens of thousands of Germans in the industrial, the business, and the traffic life be replaced? An impossibility! Upper Silesia is a delicately constructed economic organism – an inseparable member of the great German economic organism.

Does not the Polish revolt, which shakes the industry in Upper Silesia, already teach the importance and justice of this fact? The raw material is there, in spite of the Polish insurgents, – but the vital functions of the organism are perilously disturbed; a bitter proof of the assertion! Almost a foretaste of death!

2. Upper Silesia: a traffic problem.

In the Upper Silesian mining industry alone there were 200,000 men engaged before the war; hundreds of thousands of the members of

their families are attached to them: they must all be fed and clothed and housed. They must themselves be cared for, because they have other work to do; thus an army of merchants, handicraftsmen, officials, etc., is necessary in order to supply the material needs of all kinds. These auxiliary forces, together with their families, again augment the crowd of human beings congregated in a narrow area. In the year 1781 there dwelt in the industrial district only about a dozen men to the square kilometre; now from one to two thousand. The narrow area is incapable of producing all the vital necessities itself; thus, enormous quantities of victuals, of crockery, of cooking utensils, and of clothing material, window glass, and school books for the children, must be brought from near or far and then be distributed in detail. Therefore, only a well-organised and well-running transport can guarantee the existence of these masses of humanity, and thereby make proper work and proper production possible. Transport workers again add to the human mass. Thus the transport traffic becomes the indispensable regulator of life.

Hundreds of thousands of strong hands labour and produce.

With pleasurable surprise we read the huge figures of the production, of what is produced in the iron and zinc industries, in coal-mining, and we rejoice at the imposing output. But of what use is the coal at the pit-head? Of none whatever! Only through its distribution in numerous workshops does it gain value. This means a powerful demand upon the transport; Upper Silesia before the war raised 46,000,000 tons of coal annually, that is to say, more than 100,000 fully-laden goods trains. Much of it is consumed on the spot, and in the nearest neighbourhood, as an allowance, etc. And for the other production. There is a strong need of industry; numerous machinery and utensils must be imported; without carbide of calcium for his acetyline lamp the miner cannot work underground, without oil the machines cannot work, for its smelting iron ore demands fluxes which come from great distances, etc. Therefore transport, and, again, transport! To Upper Silesia, in Upper Silesia, from Upper Silesia!

A few figures speak more distinctly than long words: the total goods traffic of Upper Silesia amounted in the year 1913 to nearly 50 million tons of goods of different kinds: of

these 25½ million were exchanged with the other parts of Germany, 12 million tons of traffic within Upper Silesia, and 11½ million exchanged with foreign countries. Ninety-five per cent of this fell to the railway traffic, and about five per cent to that by water. One-tenth of the entire German railway traffic was claimed by

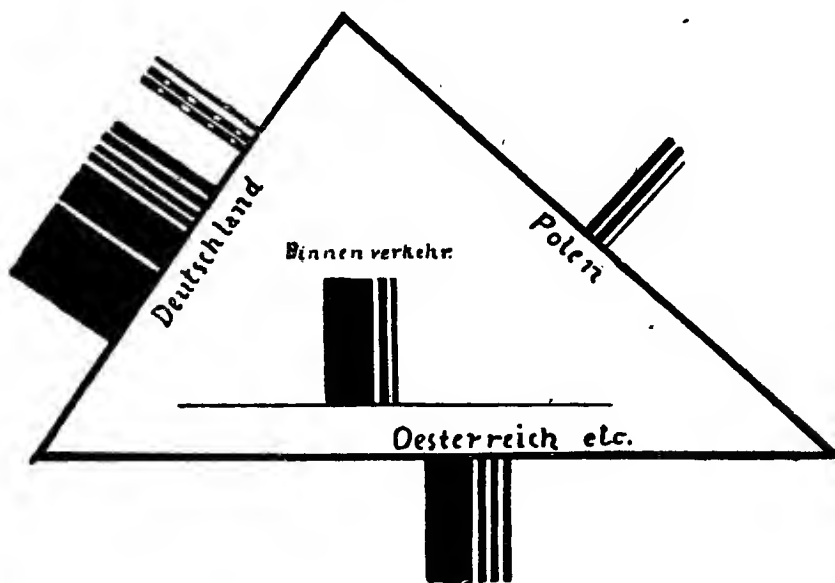


Fig. 3. The goods traffic of Upper Silesia.
(Each millimetre in thickness of the lines corresponds to one million tons of goods traffic per annum.)

Upper Silesia, which only occupied about 2% of the superficial area of Germany. In order to grasp these figures in their entire immensity it must be realised that the Ruhr District, which raises two-and-a-half times as much coal as is raised in Upper Silesia, the Saar District, and the other German industrial districts, with their transport claims, are contained in the total figure of the German railway traffic, and that they alone raise it to this enormous amount.

If from the figures of the total goods traffic the coal-loads from Upper Silesia are deducted, in order to present a picture of the other requirements (without coal), there result for 1917, with equivalent figures, the following values: (Comp. Fig. 3).

Exchange of goods with Germany:

By railway	19	million tons
By way of the Oder	2 ¹ / ₂	„ „
Goods traffic within Upper Silesia	6 ³ / ₄	„ „
Goods exchange with Poland . .	2 ¹ / ₄	„ „
„ „ „ Austria, etc.	7 ³ / ₄	„ „

Approximate total 38 million tons

Upper Silesia has received:

From Germany	6	„ „
„ Poland	³ / ₄	„ „
„ Austria, etc.	³ / ₄	„ „

Upper Silesia is, therefore, supplied with 80% from Germany, and sells 62% to Germany, as far as self-supply and self-consumption does not come into question. There are imported: victuals, articles of daily requirement, machinery appurtenances, and raw material; exported, however, are different kinds of industrial products. Upper Silesia, consequently, like every other industrial district in the world, is dependent on a greater or less distance, and, therefore, the development of Upper Silesia is a traffic problem!

At the same time, the above figures distinctly indicate how exceedingly close is the connection of Upper Silesia with the remainder of Germany, how much Upper Silesia is dependent upon the remainder of Germany; at the same time they indicate how small the traffic is with Poland.

In order to cope with this enormous goods traffic a magnificent railway system and a well-ordered traffic organisation, which obviates stagnation and stoppage, are necessary. As the accompanying little map, No. 4, shows, such an efficient railway system for Upper Silesia and for the connection with Central Silesia does

exist. It compensates the position of Upper Silesia for the distance it lies from the sea, and only thereby makes its industry capable of existence and competition. With the first railway in 1846 the rapid development began, and since then the railway system has been continually extended and enlarged. The question whether criticism of the tariff is justified does not come into consideration here at all. A magnificent and efficient Upper Silesian-German railway system exists. Against this,

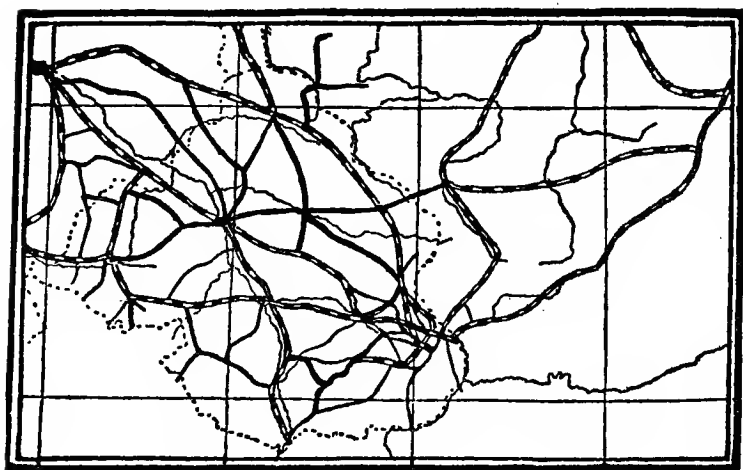


Fig. 4. The Railway System of Silesia and Poland.
(The secondary lines are indicated by single black lines.)

Poland can only show two lines which are just sufficient for own industrial district of Dombrowa-Bendzin. Poland in possession of the Upper Silesian industrial district would in no manner be in the position, therefore, to cope with the traffic (even to a limited extent) which Upper Silesia needs for her very existence; — setting aside the other question altogether, as to whether Poland would be capable of furnishing the 6,000,000 tons of goods urgently required by Upper Silesia, and of receiving the 15,000,000 tons of goods which Upper Silesia delivers annually to Germany, not to mention the 2,250,000 tons of the normal Polish goods traffic.

But a railway system does not consist of the railway lines alone; much more belongs to it than them: a substructure, capable of sustaining the burden of the enormous goods traffic, an immense store of locomotives and other rolling-stock, and a perfectly trained staff of railway-men. Only through the minute regulations which are worked out day by day is it possible to adapt the in and out circulation of the waggons to the requirements. The connection with the Reichs-German railway system guarantees the

adequate supply of transport for the Upper Silesian industry. Is it possibly to be imagined that Poland can – I should like to say – create out of the air a railway system only to a slight extent sufficient to meet the most urgent demands? The connection to Poland would, therefore, be death to the Upper Silesian industry! Upper Silesia is a traffic problem. *

The daily experiences gained from the Polish revolt now disorganising Upper Silesia are a foretaste of the catastrophe inevitable in the event of an inversion!

Another question concerning the traffic requires a passing reference in this connection (Comp. Map No. 1): Upper Silesia with Poland would lose the route for transport on the Oder, and would receive the Vistula in exchange. Even now voices have been raised by those who saw in the regulation of the lower and middle Oder a danger to Upper Silesia, because thereby the chief competition of the maritime route would be diverted to the Oder upstream, and Upper Silesia's natural market would be restricted; before the war the English coal in Berlin was actually as cheap as that from Upper Silesia. An alien Oder would undoubtedly favour

this proceeding. And the Vistula? It is not regulated in the Polish section, and is therefore useless for regulated navigation. But a perfectly regulated Vistula would also be of no service to Upper Silesia ~ perhaps even injurious to it. The Vistula, in its entire middle course, remains 200 kilometres distant from the Upper Silesian frontier; 200 kilometres north of Upper Silesia, at Thorn, it becomes navigable. Considering the prolific flood of the Vistula, it is probable that the entire middle course could, and would have to, become a great route for navigation; there-with the field for competition would be carried up to 200 kilometres in the direction of Upper Silesia in a wide bend, and Upper Silesia, dependent upon the expensive railway transport, would have to look on helplessly while it is being cut off from the hinterland and its market. Therefore ~ from whatever point of view ~ Upper Silesia, far distant from the sea, X is, and remains, a traffic problem; its future lives or dies with the regulation of the transport.

That Upper Silesia should like to augment its sale, and that, particularly during the world war, voices have been raised for entering into a vigorous exchange with Poland, have nothing

to do with the whole question treated herein; here there is only a question of the enlargement of an existing firmly constructed building, but not of the foundations of the building.

3. The feeding of Upper Silesia.

A question of far-reaching importance is: Who feeds the more than a million people of the Upper Silesian industry? It is not the transport question that is referred to, but the other — perhaps still more important — one: Whence come the enormous quantities of the necessary food supply?

On page 14 it has already been pointed out, and a glance at Map No. 2 will confirm, that the East-Oder country is poor in agriculture and possesses unfertile land, which is about the worst in the whole of Germany; the produce, therefore, is small. — Nearly one-half of the East-Oder country is covered by forests, and therefore is not be taken into consideration for the supply of food. In the Central Silesian west and the Upper Silesian southwest, to the left of the Oder, there is lying from good to excellent arable land; but here the Entente, as it is known, has drawn the border

line of the plebiscite territory. If with regard to agriculture the vast industrial district is a marked district for consumption, the West-Oder land and the Central Silesian districts are, in spite of their considerably large population, over-producing districts. The industrial district must be fed from without; the near west already can deliver great quantities of food supply. And the near east, the Polish country? A glance at Map No. 3 shows that agriculturally the same conditions exist there as in the East-Oder country; the same geological formations run through it, the system of coal beds in the south, the Triassic and Jurassic layers; the same diluvial deposit lies over it. Therefore, the agricultural value of it is less than in Upper Silesia. Surplusses are not be expected here, and this all the less because a considerably denser population dwells in the Polish borderland, 120,150 inhabitants per sq. kilometre (on account of the Polish industry), against from 50 to 90 in the Upper Silesian agricultural districts. The conditions only improve at wider intervals, with the alteration in the geological conditions. Therefore, in the neighbouring Poland there is likewise a need instead of a

surplus of food supply; she herself is dependent on supplies from a distance.

Whence, in consequence, come the supplies of food of which Upper Silesia is in need? The figures of the harvest and the statistics of the railway direction of Kattowitz afford an explanation concerning this (average from 1909 to 1911).

Received by the railway of the Governmental District of Oppeln.

	Harvest tons	Minus forwarding tons	From Inland tons	From abroad tons	From Russia & Poland tons
Wheat . . .	110500	—	3850	6100	4000
Rye . . .	314000	19000	31500	5500	1600
Oats . . .	268000	—	1350	3700	2800
Barley . . .	127000	13000	5700	16000	4900
Potatoes . .	1753000	25000	26500	31000	27800
Mill produce	—	57000	57000	2000	—

The railway reception of corn, etc., on those stations within the range of which mining industry is flourishing (the average for the same years) amounted to:

Wheat	13 650 tons
Rye	29 300 „
Oats	20 500 „
Barley	10 100 „
Potatoes	110 000 „
Mill produce	93 000 „

Total 276 550 tons

Regarding the contribution from the interior, Central and Lower Silesia take a leading part with 55,000 tons, then Posen with 48,000 tons; Russia and Poland only come slightly into consideration, and only play a certain rôle in the supply of potatoes. But the greatest share falls to western Upper Silesia, which, for the largest part, is situated outside the plebiscite territory.

If the entire railway reception from the interior and from foreign countries is added to the industrial district — and that probably corresponds to the actual circumstances — the following picture is presented:

From Western Upper Silesia	86 000 tons
„ Central and Lower Silesia	55 000 „
„ Posen	48 000 „
„ The remainder of Germany	23 000 „
„ Russia and Poland	41 000 „
„ From the remaining places abroad	23 000 „

Therefore, even without Posen and Russia and Poland, the food supply of the industrial district is essentially dependent upon the supply from the western, i. e., German, rich arable districts. The agronomic map and the actual statistic report support one another!

Russia and Poland, however, play a certain part in the meat supply, particularly regarding

pigs, because the fat meat of the Russian pigs is more to the taste of the Upper Silesians than the lean meat of the German pigs; the amount of the import of Russian pigs (the number coming from Poland is not available) in 1912 was 3,000 head per week. The stock of pigs in the Governmental District of Oppeln amounted on the 1st December, 1910, to about 488,000 head, the number of the pigs for slaughter examined by the veterinary in 1911 was approximately 716,000 head; there must still be added approximately 70,000 home-slaughtered beasts. No more need be said; the picture is clear.

Therefore: Upper Silesia is fed from the west; the Polish (and Russian!) supplement is inconsiderable; a diversion of the feeding to the supply from Poland would still more complicate the transport problem; it is the fact that even now the Polish railways cannot undertake the distribution of the food supply within the Polish borders to a sufficient extent.

Upper Silesia with Poland would have to die of hunger from lack of sustenance, it would be suffocated by the immense surplus of industrial products which, on account of the lack of the means of transport, would accumulate in an unlimited manner.

III.

The National Structure of Upper Silesia.

With regard to the national structure of Upper Silesia, even in Germany so many errors are spread abroad that it is well worth while to shed some light for once upon certain characteristic questions particularly referring to the problem of the natural membership, based on objective facts.

The language question, whether "water-Polish" is a Polishized German or quite an obsolete Polish dialect, is of no interest here, although the mere fact that the putting of this question is possible throws glaring light upon the relation between the "water-Poles" and the real Poles.

We are accustomed to connect the "water-Poles" — keeping to this expression for the moment for the sake of clearness — with the Poles; thus it is officially to be read in the result of the plebiscite, thus it stands on the popu-

lation maps in our atlases, on the school wall-maps of our great cartographical institutions, which are famous beyond the limits of Germany. On it the Entente ground their hopes, and the Poles are using our maps as propaganda material.

We are accustomed to believe that the immense accumulation of men is essentially attributable to the continually strong immigration of Polish and Galician workmen, so that thereby, even when this immigration gradually becomes settled, a powerful Polish intermingling takes place, which exactly finds its expression in the national Polish propaganda.

We are accustomed to write down: Protestant-German and Catholic-Polish.

In all these customary conceptions glaring inexactnesses and errors are apparent. Formerly we had no urgent cause to examine the national structure of the Upper Silesian population in detail*), but now we are driven by force to do so.

*) Paul Weber, for instance, in his statistical research concerning "The Poles in Upper Silesia" (Berlin: published by Jul. Springer, 1914), also almost entirely neglects all these questions.

Excellent, and often quite fresh, material is given in the new work by Dr. Maria Vogt, "Density and Migration of the Population of Upper Silesia in their Geographical Limitation. — 1781–1910."

1. The development of the population since 1781, according to figures.

(See Map No. 3).

The position of the population of Upper Silesia to-day is the result of industry, and is based — it may be said without exaggeration, even to the most remote corner of Upper Silesia, — on the better conditions of life created by industry. At one time the East-Oder country, on account of the meagre land, was anaemic (Comp. above and Fig. 2) and on a very low stage of civilisation. Consequently the population was exceedingly small; the entire Governmental District of Oppeln in 1781 had only 371,404 inhabitants, against 2,267,981 in the year 1910; it has, therefore, grown tenfold during the interval of 130 years. The agricultural West-Oder country has been retarded in its progress; the population has grown more rapidly in the industrial country: in the old district of Beuthen (i. e., the present Districts of Beuthen, Königshütte, Kattowitz, and Hindenburg) it has augmented by 4,408%. (With the same development, Breslau, with its 550,000

inhabitants, in round figures, would only have had 124 inhabitants in the year 1781!).

The East-Oder country was then very sparsely populated; the district of Lublinitz had only 11 inhabitants per sq. kilometre, the adjoining districts slightly more; in the north and in the south the number rose to at least 20 inhabitants per sq. kilometre; density of population, therefore, approximately on a par with Anatolia to-day.

The increase practically began after the wars of deliverance, and continued — with occasional short interruptions, owing to famine, epidemics, etc., — with increasing rapidity till it reached a high rate; yet with characteristic variations: the purely agricultural districts with unfertile soil (Lublinitz, Rosenberg, and Kreuzburg) remain markedly in the rear; the fertile agricultural district of Leobschütz rose by bounds. The districts immediately drawn into the sphere of influence of industry developed strongly, according to their share in the industry: Groß-Strehlitz and Cosel less so, Neustadt rather more, strongest of all Rybnik and Pless, Tost and Gleiwitz, Oppeln and Ratibor; with them there began in the 'eighties and at the time of the

high conjuncture a rapid upward movement; remarkably violent – after the American example – has been the rate of the industrial districts. The appended diagram distinctly shows the details.

Clearly and distinctly it becomes evident from the diagram that in the moment when German initiative opens up the treasures of the ground, when steam-engines and blast-furnaces are introduced, when the railway connects them with distant places, an unceasing growth of the population begins.

2. The inner reasons for the increase of the population. The excess of births – immigration and emigration.

The people of Upper Silesia, prolific in children, as is well known, has become very capable of resistance through hundreds of years of poor conditions of life, through need and privation, which only the strongest could overcome; all weak elements were eliminated. In spite of the great fertility, the daily struggle for existence hindered an increase, the infant mortality was enormous. Industry was in need

of hands and the wages were high. Money flowed into the country, the conditions of life improved, life became less burdensome, and the infant mortality decreased; the high wages permitted early marriages — from ten to twelve children are usual. Thus the population grew, as the figures show, very rapidly. The good wages attracted labour power to the industrial district, thus a strong migration within Upper Silesia began, and those returning brought money home with them. Thus, industry became a blessing to the entire country.

But foreign immigrants also came — from Poland, from Galicia. How great was this immigration? A correct answer to this is most essential; for this alone permits us to arrive at a conclusion *a posteriori* as to the composition of the Upper Silesians according to their races.

Researches in geographical and historical culture have made us acquainted with the Upper Silesians of former times; the Germans in the early Middle Ages were followed in Upper Silesia by Slavs, a re-Germanizing succeeded, and in the 14th and 15th centuries the whole of Upper Silesia was as good as completely

German. Out of Germans and Poles a mixed race had developed, with every degree of intermixture. Through all imaginable adversities it receded in respect to culture during the following centuries; without continued German immigration it was thrown back on itself, thus a complete merging into Germanism was hindered; but, likewise, without any Polish immigration their language, however, remained untouched by the Polish. They were "Upper Silesians" — water-Polaks, as they are called; an intermediate nation of their own.

How, then, has this enormous increase taken place according to the figures; out of itself or by foreign immigration? The answer is decisive for a judgment concerning the present position of the Upper Silesians. We know that immigration has taken place; we know that emigration has taken place, but exact evidence relating to the figures appears to be missing. And yet we can state with considerable certainty the manner of the growth of the Upper Silesian population: since the year 1781 we know the exact population figures, and since 1816 we know the exact excess of births, first of all in periods of three years and

later on of five years. Thereby we know the effect of the immigration and the emigration, not the individual figures of the immigration and the emigration, but the difference between them. And therefrom results the peculiar fact, that until the year 1848 a not inconsiderable immigration has occurred; but then the immigration excess decreases more and more, and from 1860 the emigration prevails, and it is now so strong that it amounts to about one-seventh of the annual excess of births.

Immigration is still in progress; but it does not come into consideration for the picture of the growth of the population in regard to figures. The number of foreign workmen in the industry is small and variable. According to the conjuncture, there were in the years 1907 to 1912 from 10,000 to 20,000. Only a small part of them amalgamated with the Upper Silesian population, the greater part returned to their homes. Later the immigration has consisted for a long while not alone of Poles, for numerous Germans have also found a new home in Upper Silesia; these are, before all, better class workmen and private officials, merchants, etc., whilst the foreign Polish workmen, in re-

gard to culture, are for the majority on a considerably lower level. How preponderatingly the German immigration is estimated by the adversary is sufficiently demonstrated by the fact that all those who immigrated since 1904 have not been allowed to vote. If in the opinion of the adversary the Polish immigration would have been the stronger, surely everybody would have been allowed to vote. But much larger than the immigration is the emigration. Everywhere in the Reich, in Berlin, in Saxony, etc., the number of the Upper Silesians is great. In the Rhine Province and Westphalia together the number of the "Poles" amounted in the year 1910 to not less than 254,202, i. e., 10% of the number of inhabitants of the Governmental District of Oppeln.

Thus it is beyond all doubt that the powerful increase of the population has not taken place through Polish immigration, but only from within by reason of the great excess of births and the internal restoration to healthy conditions of life of the Upper Silesian population; the immigration still going on 80 years ago has since a long time

become completely unimportant. On the Upper Silesian soil Upper Silesian people are dwelling! No relations with Poland have any longer existed

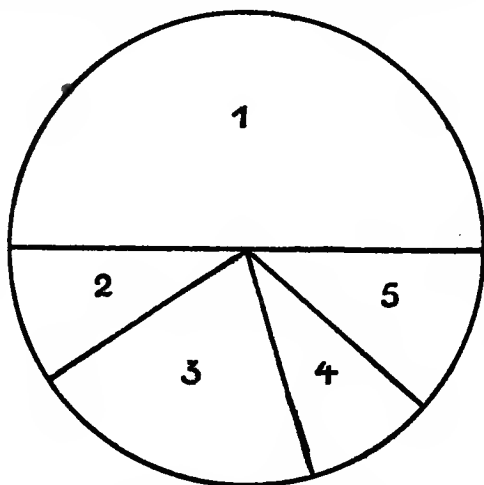


Fig. 5. Share of the different districts in the excess of births: 1816—1910.

1. Industrial District, etc.

2. Rybnik—Pless.

3. Agriculture and Industry.

4. } Agricultural provinces with { 4. fruitful land west of the Oder
5. } 5. poor land.

since 600 — yea, 700 years. And, that Upper Silesian people have developed such an immense prosperity is the effect of the German civilising work!

The two diagrams (Comp. Appendix) furnish the proof according to figures from 1816 to 1910.

Our statistics and our atlases, therefore, ought not to speak of Poles — they are no Poles! 700 years ago they were still Poles: then they became a mixed Polish-German people, which kept itself pure from new stronger Polish infusion; much German blood has been added, now they are “Upper Silesians.”

3. Religion and Native Language.

It is a wide-spread error to place German and Protestant, and, in contradiction to it, Polish and Catholic, on the same footing, all the more inconceivably because 36,7% of all Germans are Catholics. It must be admitted that it is true that at one time the Reformation found many adherents in humanistic Silesia; but in the Austrian time the counter-Reformation has laboured with all severity for Catholicism.

The Polish clergy and the National Poles are exceedingly fond of emphasizing the contradiction and amalgamating religion and “mother tongue.”

A glance at the statistics leads to surprising results:*)

District	in % of the total population: therefore %			
	German Mother-tongue	Protestants	Jews	German Catholics
Kreuzburg . . .	46,9	65,5	0,8	7,0
Rosenberg . . .	16,4	11,1	0,5	4,8
Oppeln (town) . .	80,0	21,8	1,6	56,6
Oppeln (country) .	20,0	8,6	1,0	10,4
Gr. Strehlitz . . .	17,2	4,3	0,4	12,5
Lublinitz	14,7	4,3	0,9	9,5
Gleiwitz (town) .	73,9	15,5	2,7	55,7
Tost-Gleiwitz . .	20,3	2,3	0,3	17,7
Tarnowitz	27,0	4,7	0,75	21,5
Beuthen (town) .	60,6	10,7	3,8	46,1
Beuthen (country).	30,2	3,8	0,3	26,1
Königshütte . . .	54,0	10,4	1,2	42,4
Hindenburg . . .	39,3	4,2	10,75	34,3
Kattowitz (town) .	85,4	20,7	6,7	58,0
Kattowitz (country)	30,3	4,9	0,7	24,7
Pless	13,4	8,2	0,6	4,6
Rybnik	18,8	4,0	0,6	14,2
Ratibor (town) . .	59,6	10,7	2,0	48,7
Ratibor (country) .	11,2	1,1	0,1	10,0
Cosel	21,8	4,7	0,2	16,9
Leobschütz	84,5	8,6	0,3	75,6
Neustadt	52,7	7,2	0,2	45,3

*) In the result of the census (of 1910) the figures of the Protestants, Catholics, of those speaking German and of those speaking Polish, are quoted. — Granted that all the Protestants

Two remarkable facts result from this table:

1. That there are in the District of Kreuzburg at least 20% Protestants speaking the Polish mother-tongue;

2. That by far the greatest number of all the Upper Silesian Germans – is Catholic!

4. The Political Bias of the Upper Silesians.

(Attached Map Nr. 5)

The national Polish propaganda has clouded the view of the actual conditions to wide circles of people. In the Prussian province of Posen there is actually a considerable number of real Poles, but this is not the case in Upper Silesia. As the historical development teaches, the conditions in Posen are totally different from those prevailing in the older German Upper Silesia: Posen is relatively a young Prussia possession. With the depressing ignorance of wide Reich's German circles everything was cast into one cauldron – most unjustly so. The very be-

— speak the German mother-tongue (but compare above the District of Kreuzburg) and that the Jews speak German, the minimum number of the German Catholics can easily be discovered.

ginning of national Polish sentiment in the heads of Upper Silesians goes back to the middle of the last century: to any considerable extent the national Polish propaganda in Upper Silesia only assumed shape during the last two or three decades. The parliamentary elections here speak in eloquent language, and that, also even now, in spite of unrestricted, unscrupulous incitement, the Polish success is very inadequate is taught by the results of the plebiscite of the 20th March, with their powerful German majority!

This overwhelming majority of 60% of pro-German votes is a fact in forceful language for every unprejudiced person!

Politically, Poland compared with Germany is in an infinitely more advantageous position; she has not been fleeced by the war as has Germany, so heavily damaged by the world war; Germany is defeated, and the superior power of her enemies contemplates her as a defenceless prey which shall be made responsible for all the war damages, and shall pay sums which till a few years ago sounded fantastic! Germany disarmed, her money almost valueless, over-weighted with burdens of all kinds; and Poland? The friend of the winners of

the world war, newly blossoming into stately political greatness, lavished with gifts of all descriptions by her Entente friends. Should the selection not be difficult to anyone, would terror not seize him in face of the immense tribute which as a German he must yield to the enemy, in face of the enormous tax which he has to pay to the impoverished State? For, as a matter of fact, everybody knows it and the Polish propaganda has drummed it into him: He who votes German votes for labour and poverty! And the Pole depicted Poland as a paradise and promised mountains of gold to the Upper Silesians. What force of German sentiment and thought must live under such circumstances in the "Upper Silesian Poles" to vote German in spite of that! Many a German in the heart of the Reich must lower his eyes before these "water Polish" brethren. And the vast majority voted German — — — a magnificent evidence of deeply-rooted Germanism.

Let us compare the plebiscite map with that of the languages, according to the last national census of 1910. With astonishment must we then state that the pictures are entirely differing from one another, so completely that not a

vestige of semblance remains. Thence in the District of Rosenberg 80,7% of Poles — now 32%; thence in the District of Cosel 75% of Poles — now 75% of Germans; in other districts the difference is less, but everywhere a great increase of the Germans. It is clear wherein this difference lies: in 1910, at the census the mother language was valued; at the plebiscite, however, the political bias. Thus the plebiscite teaches that “mother language” and political bias by no means indicate the same thing. Tens of thousands — nay, hundreds of thousands — of Polish-speaking Upper Silesians have voted German!

It is undoubtedly of high interest for the picture of the national structure of Upper Silesia, and, besides, it is important to note how many “water Poles” have voted German, according to the absolute number as well as to the percentage. By a side view we arrive at very useful figures.

At the national census of 1910 the number of the German-speaking population was recorded; we might expect that all these voted, without exception, German. But then all the persons in one locality, from the infants in arms

upwards, were counted; the vote, however, was only cast by adults. Thus we must — without committing ourselves to any appreciable error — count according to the percentage rate.*) There further remain in the figures of the plebiscite the 170,000 Upper Silesian voters from the Reich. According to the records we have stated above (p. 49) that the emigration from Upper Silesia into the Reich comprised almost exclusively "Poles," therefore, we must not separate them as people of German mother language without committing a gross error; their classification into German- and Polish-speaking is made in a reasonable way according to the percentage rate in their district. The overwhelming immigration into Upper Silesia had already been set aside by the plebiscite order. (Comp. above p. 50). From this percentage rate of the Germans of 1910 the percentage rate of the German-speaking population of 1921 can be estimated by carrying over the figures of the plebiscite, and therewith the rate

*) The bi-lingual ones, who only constitute an infinitesimal proportion of the total number, must be disregarded as being an unreliable element. Those who in 1910 spoke German fluently as their mother language, and called themselves nevertheless bi-lingual, undoubtedly had no bias towards Germany.

of percentage of the Polish-speaking population which has voted German. From these percentage figures the actual figures can be calculated according to those of the plebiscite, and these can then be referred to in percentage for the German voters of Polish tongue to the total number of all Polish-speaking ones. In counting as "Poles" all who were not eliminated as German-speaking, I arrive thereby for the "Poles" at a maximum number, and for the rate of percentage of German-voting "Poles," as stated according to the figures, a minimum number. This calculation is, therefore, pronouncedly Polish-friendly! And this was also my intention: I wanted to accept for Germany the most unfavourable case, in order to arrive at an absolutely sure and indisputable minimum figure of the German-biased "Poles." The result shows that there was no need for us to discover, by means of combinations figures to our advantage, that the result is – in spite of the minimum figures! – brilliant for us! That this would be the case was also to be expected after the result of the parliamentary elections in 1919, as well as after other elections and opportunities where the political bias was,

at least indirectly, expressed. And Poland undoubtedly was accurately informed about this — probably also the Entente — far better than we were ourselves! That this is so is demonstrated by the fact that a plebiscite was commanded; in West Prussia and Poland 44,000 square kilometres, with a population of three-and-a-quarter millions, were taken away from us, without plebiscite, in favour of the Poles, of which 56% were Germans, and only 44% of other languages — it must be admitted, however, mainly real Poles. If, therefore, in spite of the official majority of “Polish”-speaking people (according to the national census of 1910), a plebiscite was commanded for Upper Silesia, that happened, and could only have happened, from the knowledge of the fact that the “water Poles” are not Poles but, with slight exceptions, Germans. Otherwise, from the enemy’s standpoint, the whole of the plebiscite is nonsense! The stipulations of the Peace Treaty have been thought out, however, right down to the smallest details, so cunningly; they are based so well on an accurate knowledge of our conditions, that the Entente are not to be considered capable of perpetrating

such nonsense. If we contemplate the result of the plebiscite from this standpoint (which beyond all doubt is the right one) it is really sad that so many of our Upper Silesian brethren permitted themselves to be seduced into infidelity towards their own innermost conviction. The suspicion arises: might it not be that the inflaming and whipping-up of the nationality conflicts in Upper Silesia, which surely will remain German – and thereby an inner weakening of the still dreaded adversary, – is intended by the Entente, and that the plebiscite, with all its paraphernalia, was only a means to that end – a cunning one indeed!

Let us turn to facts! The general idea is, that the population of Upper Silesia is divided into two parts, into a considerable number of Protestant Germans (not only German-speaking people, but also non-Silesians) – as such one thinks of the great army of officials (as originating from other provinces), of officers, merchants, tradesmen, etc., – and against them are placed the Catholic Polish-speaking and Polish-thinking people, according to the figures in a strong majority, born in Upper Silesia, and augmented by great immigration

from Poland. A string of errors! Upper Silesia is (Comp. p. 52) an almost purely Catholic country; the Polish immigration is unimportant. But again, the number of the German-speaking people in the country of the East-Oder – with the exception of the industrial district – is very small, and the strong German element of Upper Silesia is represented by people of Polish speech!

From the national census we can extract the figures of the German-speaking people. Leobschütz is purely German, with 84,5%. At a wide interval follows the District of Kreuzburg, with 47%, then the industrial district (i. e., the Districts of Beuthen, Kattowitz, Hindenburg, Königshütte, Tarnowitz, Gleiwitz-town, and ten neighbouring country communities) with 41,2%. At a still wider interval there follow the country districts, commencing with Cosel, with 21,7%, and ending with Ratibor, with 11,2% Germans.

If we estimate from the number of German votes the share of the German-speaking element and of those then remaining (which, therefore, must be Polish-speaking), there results the following interesting survey:

District	German votes in % of the total number of votes	of which		Difference, in relation to Polish- speaking
		German- speaking	Polish- speaking	
1. Ratibor . . .	4,2	1,4	2,8	+ 1,4
2. Kosel . . .	3,1	0,9	2,2	+ 1,3
3. Rosenberg . .	2	0,5	1,5	+ 1
4. Oppeln . . .	6,8	3	3,8	+ 0,8
5. Lublinitz . .	1,3	0,4	0,9	+ 0,5
6. Groß-Strehlitz	1,9	0,7	1,2	+ 0,5
7. Tost-Gleiwitz	2,3	0,9	1,4	+ 0,5
8. Kreuzburg . .	3,7	1,8	1,9	+ 0,1
9. Pleß	1,3	0,6	0,7	+ 0,1
10. Rybnik . . .	2,5	1,3	1,2	— 0,1
11. Ober-Glogau	2,7	1,6	1,1	— 0,5
12. Leobschütz .	5,6	4,7	0,9	— 3,8
13. Industrial Dist.	21,9	16	5,9	—10

In the first nine districts (including Pless) there have consequently been given more German votes by Polish-speaking people than by those speaking German. Upper-Glogau is strongly German-speaking, Leobschütz purely German-speaking, and, likewise, the industrial district is German-speaking to the extent of 41%. Therefore Rybnik alone slightly falls away.

Still more evident is the proportion of the Polish-speaking Germans, as shown in the following table:

In the District of	to 10 German-speaking there are
Rosenberg	30 German-voles
Cosel	24 „
Lublinitz	22,5 „
Ratibor	20 „
Groß-Strehlitz : . . .	17 „
Tost-Gleiwitz	15 „
Oppeln	13 „
Kreuzburg	10,5 „
Pleß	10,2 „
Rybnik	9,6 „
Ober-Glogau	7 „
Industrial District . .	4 „
Leobschütz	2 „

Altogether about 42% of all the pro-German votes have been given by Polish-speaking Upper Silesians; therefore, a very strong Germanic stronghold.

What then is the proportion of the German-inclined Polish-speaking to the Polish-inclined Polish-speaking people?

District	Of all the Polish-speaking people there have voted German
1. Leobschütz	97%
2. Kreuzburg	92%
3. Ober-Glogau	75%
4. Cosel	69%
5. Oppeln	63%
6. Ratibor	62%

District	Of all the Polish-speaking people there have voted German
7. Rosenberg	62 ⁰ / ₀
8. Lublinitz	45 ⁰ / ₀
9. Tost-Gleiwitz	42 ⁰ / ₀
10. Groß-Strehlitz	39 ⁰ / ₀
11. Industrial Districts	22 ⁰ / ₀
12. Rybnik	22 ⁰ / ₀
13. Pleß	16 ⁰ / ₀

In plain language this says, that in the greater part of Upper Silesia, even without the German-speaking people, there already exists a pro-German majority.

Of the total number of those speaking Polish the German-inclined amount to 39%, i. e., 2/5ths! The total amounts almost exactly to 300,000 votes.

Fig. 6 shows the composition of the population in the different districts: black, the German-speaking; white, the German-inclined Polish-speaking; and hatched, the Polish-inclined Polish-speaking people.

Fig. 7 shows the area of the German-inclined Polish-speaking people and their proportion to the Polish-speaking population (with the omission of the German-speaking). The culture-

geographical factor shines out of this map with striking distinctness: the nearer to modern traffic and its means – the more German; the further and less opened-up the territory – the more

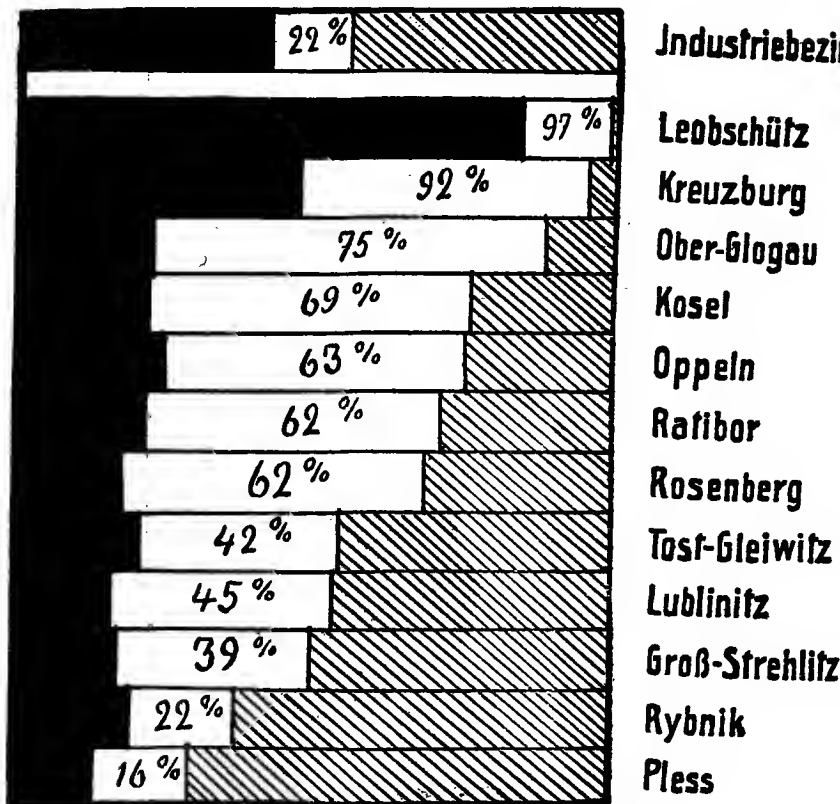


Fig. 6.

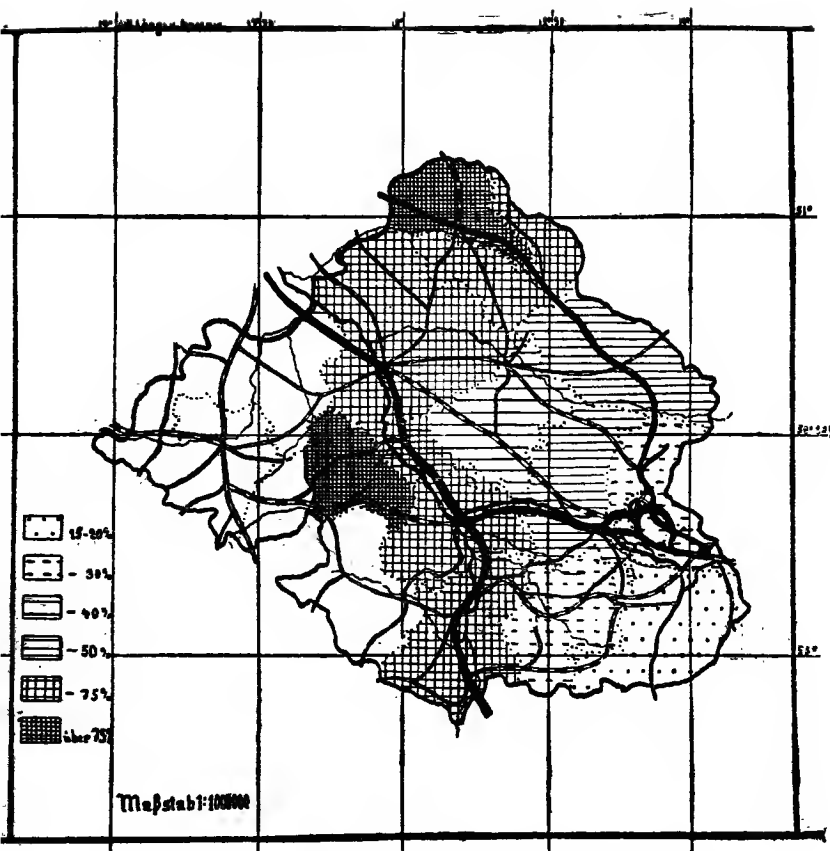


Fig. 7. The distribution of the German-inclined Upper Silesians of Polish tongue

(in percentage proportion to the total number of "Poles").

In order to make the great traffic connections to be understood, the railways have been traced thus: the old main-lines, thick black; the newer main-lines in broader, and the secondary lines in narrower railway signs.

Polish! The traffic on the Oder, with the old railway main traffic, is heart and soul German, and up to the frontier independent of language. The old Salzstrasse and the important old railway on the right bank of the Oder have converted German country into districts almost only of Polish-speaking people. The great railway-line Oppeln – Peiskretscham – Gleiwitz is new; therefore, it has not had time yet to develop its full effect on the district of Gross-Strehlitz. The south-west of this district near to the traffic is, according to the recorded results of the plebiscite, two-thirds German. The more strongly Polish-inclined district, Pless, and great parts of Rybnik, are far removed from traffic or only newly opened to it. The map speaks in drastic terms of the connection of modern traffic with the (so-called) political tendency! It may safely be said: A stronger Polish influence in any part of Upper Silesia is a reproach to our Ministry of Railways!

Yet another fact is remarkable in this connection: The towns have, without exception, voted German – most of them almost purely German – and the country removed from traffic, strongly Polish. The cultural relation is clear:

the intelligence (of the German, as well as of the Polish tongue) is biased in favour of Germany.

Thus the whole question is revealed in a new light: it is not a political question but a question of culture! Thereby the decision of the Entente in regard to the fate of Upper Silesia assumes a serious cultural responsibility, in addition to that of a political and economic description. This is emphatically shown by the small map.

The industrial district has a special structure; it cannot be measured by the same standard as the other districts. Here also inner political and social ideas intrude upon the national and cultural questions, to discuss which would carry us far beyond the scope of this sketch; it is not the antagonism of race alone, but also the fight of the classes in all its combinations, down to communism and, perhaps, even bolchevism. Here Polish propaganda and Polish terror were most harsh; this fact also shows that not brotherly love but greed is the Polish guiding principle. In spite of all this, 22% of all the Polish-speaking people voted for Germany.

But, finally, in the valuation of the result of the plebiscite it must not be forgotten that

brutal terror has forcibly influenced the result of the plebiscite. I do not wish to speak of the propaganda: strong conviction can stand up against it and has done so. But the Polish terror has employed force, has in many places hindered by force German-biassed people from taking part in the plebiscite, has compelled them by personal threats, etc. In the District of Rybnik, for instance, all places under military occupation, where, on that account, the plebiscite could be conducted in an orderly manner, show German majorities; and so forth. If, therefore, in spite of the terror, two-fifths of all the Polish-speaking people have voted for Germany how brilliant would the result have been without terror!

5. The National Structure of Upper Silesia.

The appended map No. 5 gives a clear picture of the composition of the population of Upper Silesia according to the result of the plebiscite with regard to their distribution as to area and percentage, the latter apportioned to each dis-

trict and at the same time given in proportion to the total number of the population in districts.

The total number of the German-speaking people is about. 410,000 = 35 %
of the German Polish-speaking 300,000 = 25 %
of the Polish Polish-speaking . 480,000 = 40 %

Nearly one-half of the total population resides in the industrial districts. Here — as in nearly all districts — the German-affected Polish-speaking people outweigh the remainder. Also, in the total number the German-speaking people and the Polish-affected ones are practically equipoised, and the German Poles turn the scale.

Germany has gained the victory in Upper Silesia, not because a German-speaking majority defeated a foreign minority, but because in the long-settled population the German nationality is deeply rooted.

For the right perception of the structure of the population it is of fundamental importance that there is not the question of three different elements in the population in these three groups, but that the entire population is one undivided organism; the border lines of the above-distin-guished groups do not run between the families, but through them — according to language

and according to sentiment. Nearly all — the men, without exception, — speak more or less German. I have had the very favourable opportunity of making a thorough study of the simple people in the very parts that are most strongly Polish; I scarcely came across an old woman — for they alone can come into question — with whom I could not make myself understood in German. If for any reason they believe it more to their advantage, they suddenly pretend not to understand German. German is the language of the town, of people of the better class: Polish, that of the country. One daughter marries into the town and speaks German, the other, a peasant in the country, speaks Polish, and in the census the sisters — and certainly their children — then have different “native tongues.” And as in the Reich father and children, or brothers and sisters, have different political opinions from one another, the one leaning towards the democratic, the other towards the German National, or socialistic party, so it is also in Upper Silesia: the one feels himself German and the other is enthusiastic for Poland. The schism runs through the families, and the fight of nationalities which has been

instigated by the plebiscite has frequently been carried into the bosom of the closest family relations. Only in the just appreciation of this uniformity of the entire people can the true understanding be attained.

This process of the autochthonic structure development has been favoured undoubtedly by the severe closing of the Russian border, which restricted the relations across the boundary ditch to a minimum; the frontier cossacks kept a sharp look-out. Marriages might have taken place over the border in neighbouring villages, but the most essential relations did not consist in the family but in lucrative contraband; this in its character does not touch the nationality of the people.

If we glance again at all that has been observed in the various paragraphs of this chapter, the growth of the long-settled population of the interior through excess of births, of the population which for more than five hundred years has become an anthropological mixed race and from lack of immigration has remained of high Polish blood, the predominant influence of German culture – sometimes strong, at other times weaker; now gigantically strong

again — over the entire life, the relation between culture and “native tongue,” between religion and “native tongue” — then we come to an understanding of the mentality of the Upper Silesian people, then we understand the German victory.

In the foregoing I have endeavoured to present a picture of the national structure of Upper Silesia. The neighbouring State, Poland, stretches out her hand and raises claims to the Upper Silesian country. Is it brotherly love that impels her? For more than six centuries no ties existed between Poland and Upper Silesia; the suspicion then arises that, before all, the rich mineral treasure is the incentive to the Polish greed.

Who is Poland? The next paragraph affords the answer.

IV.

Polish Imperialism

by Professor Manfred Laubert, Breslau.

The first that history relates concerning Poland is the attempt of her Norman Piasts to enlarge, in uncontrollable imperialism, the borders of her Reich in all four directions. Thrown back in the West in this endeavour by the Germans, their earliest historically recorded prince, Misika I., turned southwards and laid hands on Silesia, by conquering, through forcible means and utilising the dynastic confusion prevailing in Bohemia, the territory lying between the Oder and the mountains. (990). His son, Boleslaw the Bold, the most powerful embodiment of the irresistible greed of conquest, also embraced Upper Silesia within his Reich and procured for it, favoured by the internal struggles of the neighbours, an almost fantastic extension

without any national foundation. When the German Emperor opposed his insubordinate vassal nearly all the neighbouring people, although almost all Slavs, placed themselves on his side out of fear of the Polish lust of conquest. It must be admitted that the disintegration of Poland arrested in the immediate future her power of expansion, but the leading thought of Boleslaw, the creation of a Reich extending from the Oder to the Duna, from the Baltic to the Black Sea, has never since been extinguished in the traditions of the Samats.

The one-sided stress of the external political point of view caused complete social and economic decay. That also led in the high policy to repercussion. In 1163 Silesia passed over to a branch line of the Piasts, the purely German character of whom has been recognized by the best Polish historians. Besides that, in the general decomposition foreign assistance was needed, and this only the Germans could grant. The first immigration of them, as peaceful bearers of culture, lasted for one-and-a-half century: Crown, Nobility, and Church entered into competition to attract them. Wide territories, especially the towns, became purely German, the Silesian

ones, however, including the District of Oppeln, completely so, as the Polish evidence proves.

Particularly fatal to Poland was the indispensability of military aid from the side of Germany. As through this alone the Polish Mongol invasion, the Asianising of Europe in 1241, was checked, so Poland could alone maintain herself against her northern neighbours, Prussians, Samats, and Lithuanians, by means of the assistance invoked from the German Order, for which the whole of East Prussia and the District of Kulm was allotted to the Knights as an intact sovereign possession. In the beginning of the 14th century the great Polish prince implored their support, in order to drive away the Brandenburgers from Pomerellen, that part of West Prussia which is situated on the left of the Vistula. As he was not able to pay the recompense agreed to, the Order had to indemnify itself by taking in pawn this country which never belonged to the Poles, which was only robbed by them temporarily by force, but which they could never hold, till, in 1343, Casimir finally abandoned it to the Order in the Treaty of Kalisch. This king won the surname of the Great, because he possessed the

gift of self-control, a very rare virtue in Poland, and because, in the beginning, through the wise renunciation of untenable outposts, he purchased quiet and concord within his country. Thus, in 1335, he solved in addition the union of Silesia and Poland, which theoretically still existed, which his successor in 1372 once more solemnly recognised. Before the middle of the 14th century, therefore, all ties between Poland on the one side, and Silesia, East and West Prussia, on the other, were broken, and all three provinces became completely German, territories belonging to the German Reich. It is significant of the state of mind of our enemies to-day that, although they recognise this fact, they quote, as a title of right for their new robbery, Casimir's later endeavours, which afford numberless proofs that his policy should not mean a definite abandonment of the lost territories. This is what they venture to place before the eyes of the Entente with undisguised cynicism („Polen“: Bern, 1918. p. 10). Thus he, who, before God and man, concludes a solemn treaty with the secret intention of breaking it perfidiously when a fitting occasion arises, is in the right.

It must certainly be admitted that the Poles at all times have acted on this principle. Favoured by the Slav reaction, which began in Upper Silesia after the wars of the Hussites, they tried in the first instance to gain ground again in our province, without, however, meeting with success. The cession of the country to the Habsburgs (1527) put an end to these attempts. Silesia, eliminated as an aim of Polish imperialism, and her Polish inhabitants likewise having no points of contact whatever with their congeners beyond the frontier, stood completely aloof, already on account of social contradictions, from the revolutionary movements of the Szlachta. Still, in 1848, the endeavours to awaken into life a national movement in the revolutionary disturbances, by the foundation of societies and ounalistic enterprises, proved to be premature, and they were, according to Polish judgment, a "mere straw-fire" (St. Belza). Without any compulsion the German spirit progressed on account of its superior culture. Only through the forbearance of the Government and the re-Polishising of the national schools, caused by them after the "storm year," the ground was prepared for the instigation carried into

the country from without. As a merit of the Posen Poles, Koscielski claimed in Lemberg, in 1894, the arming of their youngest brother, the Upper Silesian. Polandom received a national increase, the re-birth of the Polish national conscience in Upper Silesia, which was considered for a long time to have been lost. (Polen, p. 64.) This is the position of the pretended right of the White Eagle to our province.

It must be admitted that very early on the part of Poland a reaction was set on foot against the hated, although indispensable, foreigners. Already since 1250 traces of insidious persecution can be found. With the base breach of the privileges of settlement and the promised protection of the minority, the colonists were forcibly Polandised and subjected to bondage. In order to eradicate the power of the Order, Poland, the pretended champion of Christianity and the protecting wall of European culture, did not shrink back from an alliance with the Lithuanian heathen-barbarian. She forgot her natural mission as guardian towards the East, and placed herself without the pale of European civilisation. Christianity, united at the Council of Constance, therefore, in spite of all

presents and bribes, delivered judgment against Poland. The public opinion of the Continent unanimously condemned the State which, for mere greed of power, had disregarded all the calls of civilisation and humanity. With the assistance of all available Tartar bands, lustful of plunder, the Order was overthrown and West Prussia was wrenched from their grasp. Again, with the shameful breach of all solemn promises, the German administration was thrust aside, the German peasant driven away and Catholicised, the nobility were compelled to adopt Polish names and arms (over 200 families), the country which had become free was given over to inflowing foreign elements, whereby over 300 Polish noble houses settled down. Thus the appearance was created that West Prussia was actually former Polish territory.

But with this campaign of plunder Poland had sealed her own fate. The plans of partition of the structure which was cemented together out of all kinds of foreign parcels of land, which was recommended by Wladislaw, of Oppeln, in about 1400, as the only means of tranquilising eastern Europe, which was frequently prophesied or adopted since by Polish kings, began to take

shape. Finally, Frederick the Great had to countenance them in order not to abandon the entire booty to Russia, whose bayonets had been ruling in the country since 1717. Through him the strip communicating with East Prussia was restored to the German race, not by brutal robbery but as a simple restoration in the best sense of the word. Complete maritime incapability had not allowed Poland, even when she was in possession of the coast, the smallest profit from the possibilities of development offered to her thereby. Regarding commercial policy she had remained an object of exploitation by the foreigner. It was clearly proved that she was not in need of access to the sea, and did not know how to avail herself of it.

Through no merit of her own she became re-possessioned of a restricted independence, and immediately showed that she had learned nothing in the years of affliction. In 1808 her greatest statesman, Hugo Kollatay, presented a Memorandum to Napoleon, in which he demanded for his Fatherland all the territory east of the Oder. The dream of Boleslaw the Bold celebrated its resurrection, but nobody had better gauged the helplessness of the Poles than the

Emperor, who spoke contemptuously of the Polish Jacobites whom he would recognize as a disciplined Power only on the battle-field, naturally in French service. Never would he have thought of adjudging Upper Silesia to them.

As towards the West Poland had also behaved towards the East, and had here in the same manner forcibly grasped all territory she could lay hands upon, till at last she resembled a brazen image with feet of clay.

The present time only affords confirmation of the entire Polish History. Once again Poland tries, without any real foundation, to bring, to the farthest possibility, wide stretches of land into her possession, which owe their flower to foreign culture and which are not intended to serve as objects of exploitation by the incapable Warsaw rulers. According to the recently framed Budget, only the former Prussian provinces promise a surplus. With the most objectionable means of falsification and fraud, Poland, since the autumn of 1918, worked only for that one aim of a policy of robbery. In the material tendered to the Entente the result of the German population statistics in Upper Silesia and East Prussia was grossly falsified,

in order to establish the necessity for a plebiscite. On the map given in „Polen“ the frontiers of 1772 are arbitrarily diverted, in order to snatch portions of Pommerania, East Prussia, and Lower Silesia. Unfortunately success was not lacking. Polish imperialism on the German eastern frontier has already achieved unforeseen advancement and completely unjustified gain. The 13th of the Wilson Points has, like the remainder, been shamefully abused. The settlement of the frontier has not been made according to a fixed, uniformly adopted principle, but after the point of view most favourable for the time being to Poland. In accordance with the historical right Poland would only have had a claim to the province of Posen as ancient Polish soil. The principle of nationalities is not applicable, having regard to the mixture of the two sections of the people, and would be in need of correction according to economic reasons. It is certain that, if the proportion of figures of the Upper Silesian plebiscite were simply to be followed, large districts of the province of Posen, nearly the whole of West Prussia, Danzig, before all the district of the Memel and the district of

Soldau, the part of which not ceded has decided by over 98% for Germany, would have to be restored without further delay. The Germans, not only in Posen and West Prussia together but even still in the Governmental District of Bromberg, were in the majority. Through the plebiscite in East Prussia and Upper Silesia it is further proved that the proportion of nationalities constitutes no measure whatever of the will of the people. If special economic regard were preferred against it, the strongest basis for the whole of Upper Silesia remaining with Germany lies therein, in spite of the Polish majority in some of the border portions. Free access to the sea could be granted by the internationalising of the Vistula and a railway-line, with the corresponding regulation of the traffic from Silesia to East Prussia. This alone would be fair-play with regard to Germany!

Instead of this, Poland is allowed to-day to lay hands on East Galicia, where fewer Poles are living than Germans in the Governmental District of Posen; she is permitted to abuse, in the most terrifying manner, the conditions of the Versailles Treaty with regard to her German subjects; and to procure for herself, through

the plundering practised on them, the means of crushing out the prosperity of Upper Silesia, and of destroying the prospect of restoring Middle Europe and an honest reconciliation of the people. Is a Council of Constance once more necessary in order to put Poland, this forerunner of Asiatic bolchevism, in her proper place, and to grant to Germany the task, alone due to her, of a first Power against the eastern lack of civilisation, as well as the armament necessary for that purpose?

Appendix:

The Piratical State of Poland.

The imperialistic tendency of the new structure of the Polish State becomes sufficiently clear if its national structure is taken into consideration. It is not quite easy to obtain authentic material regarding this, as the eastern frontiers especially are not yet settled with any exactness. Therefore, in my attempt to present a correct picture I have restricted myself essentially to Polish sources. A pamphlet and a map with accompanying text, published on the part of Poland on the occasion of the Upper Silesian plebiscite — "Poland and her Neighbours," — has proved of great use in this endeavour. On the map the frontiers which Poland considers to belong to her are easily to be traced. The figures of the population and the nationalities are taken from the book by

Dr. Joseph Frejlich, "La Structure nationale de la Pologne," the frontier indications of which are often far surpassing those of the pamphlet and of other later sources. The book was published in 1918. As far as possible the results of the German census of 1910 were compared and used.

The following picture regarding the figures results therefrom:

	Total	Poles	Germans	Jews	Russ- Ruthenians	Miscel- laneous
Poland	12619000	9400000	690000	1900000	610000	19000
Prussian share	2950000	1250000	1600000	?	—	110000
Galicia	7970000	4670000	90000	?	3200000	10000
East Poland	4623000	350000	120000	700000	3400000	53000
<hr/>						
	28162000	15670000	2500000	2600000	7210000	194000
		=55,5%	=9%	=9%	=25,5%	=1%

How far the figures are reliable must be left open; in any case, they are derived from Polish sources and will, therefore, surely not give a picture unfavourable to Poland. Nevertheless, the new Polish State, according to their own avowal, contains only a very little more than half of Poles*), a typical piratical State.

*) The pamphlet mentioned above, as a matter of fact, speaks of 66% Poles and only 6% Germans. W. Volz.

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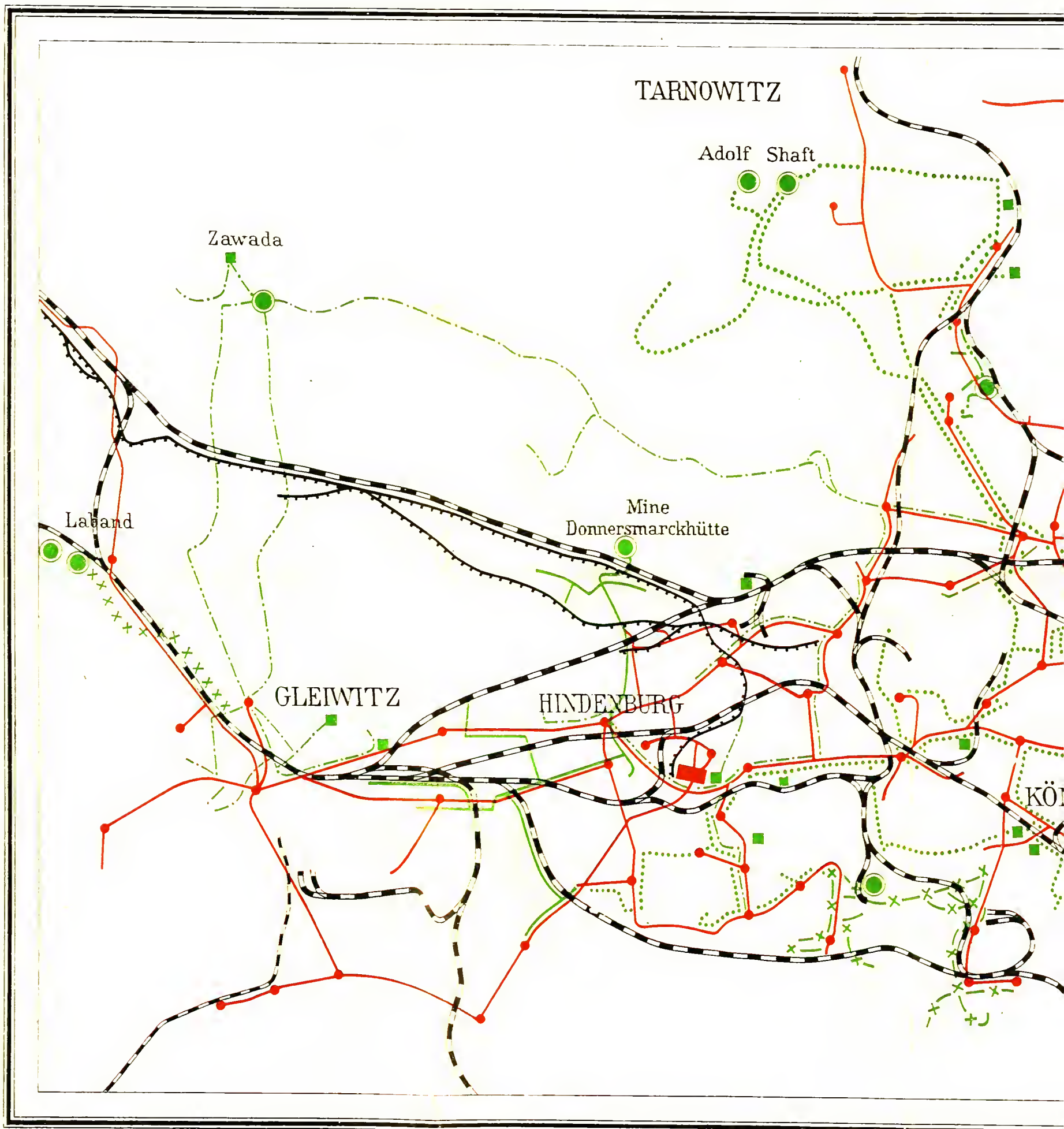
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The Unity of the Industries

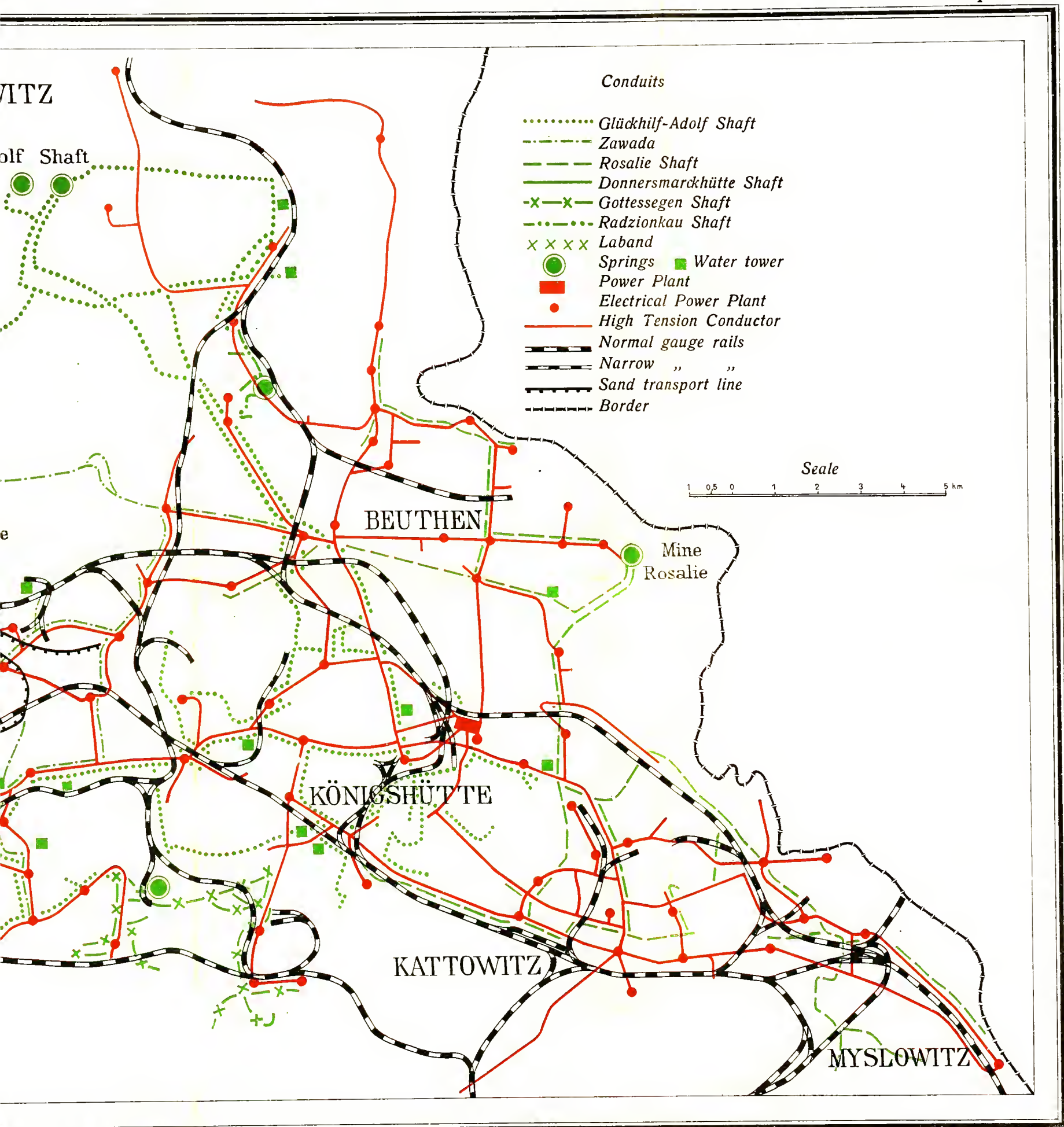
(Railways — Water Supply — Electric)



of the Industrial District

s — Water Supply — Electric Cable).

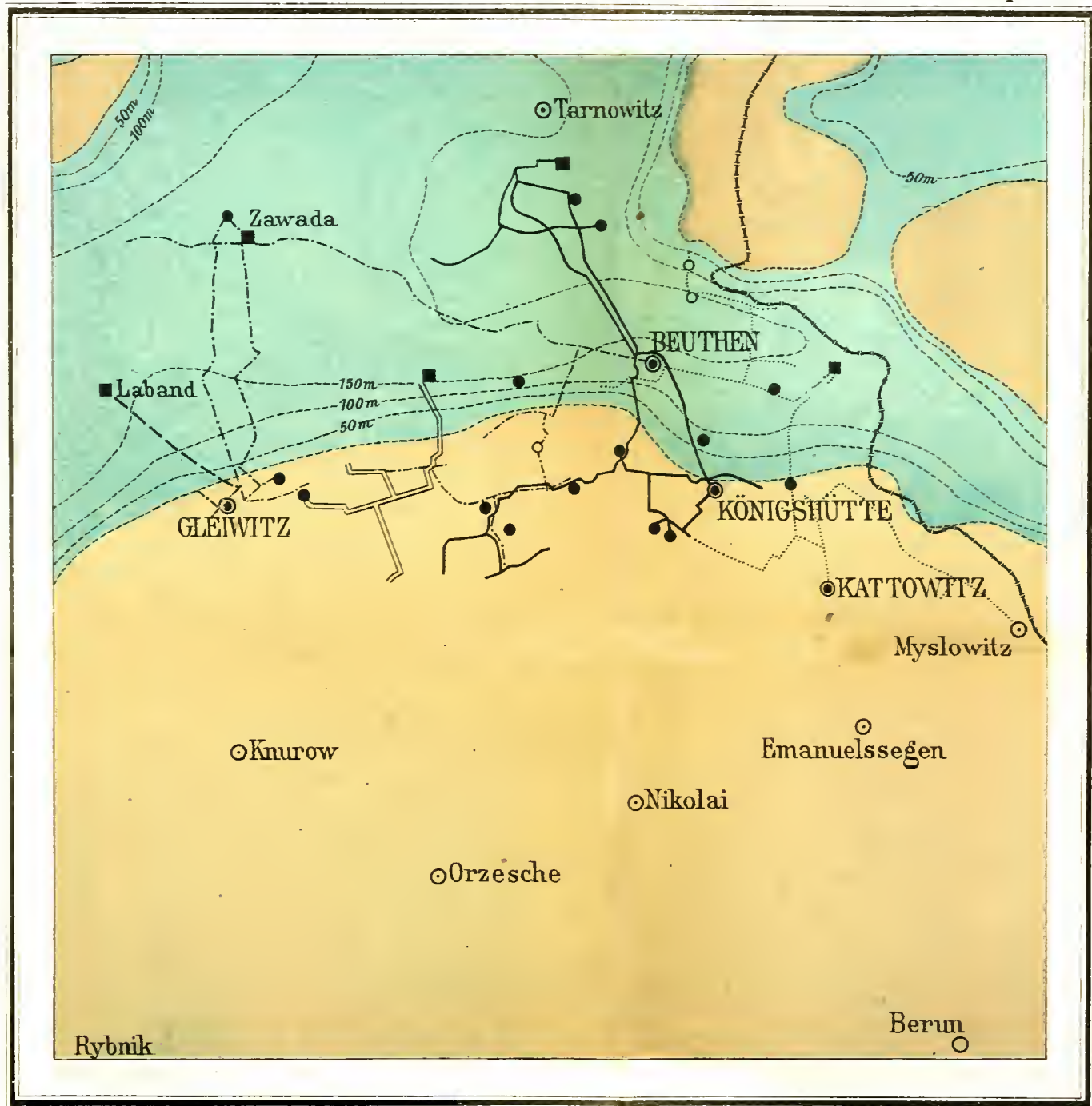
Map 1.



Map of the dissemination of water-bearing Trias limestone and the water supply of the industrial districts

(Essentially according to R. Michael)

Map 2.



Berliner Lithographisches Institut. Berlin W.35.



Trias limestone.



*Older Trias strata,
mostly carboniferous*



*Limits between strata
of varying strength.*

Aqueducts.

———— : *Adolf-Shaft.*

----- : *Zawada.*

..... : *Rosalie Mine.*

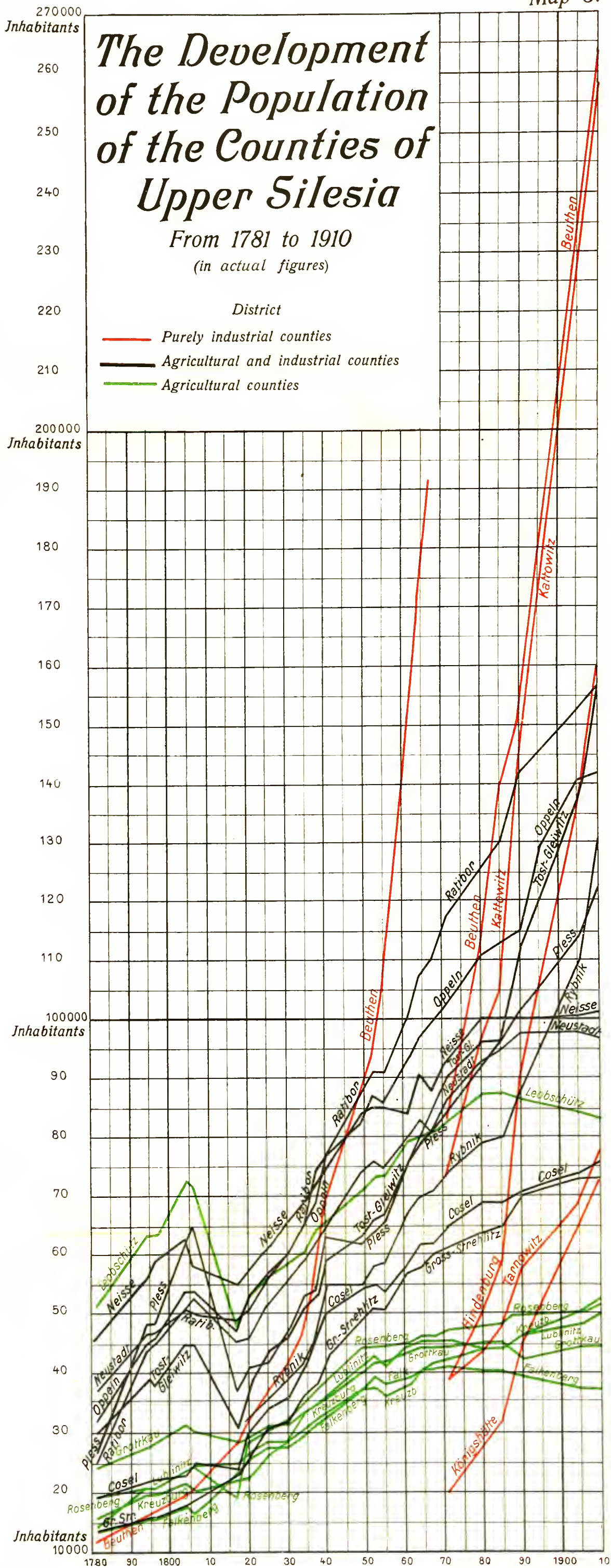
===== : *Donnersmarkhütte Mine.*

----- : *Laband.*

■ : *Water works.*

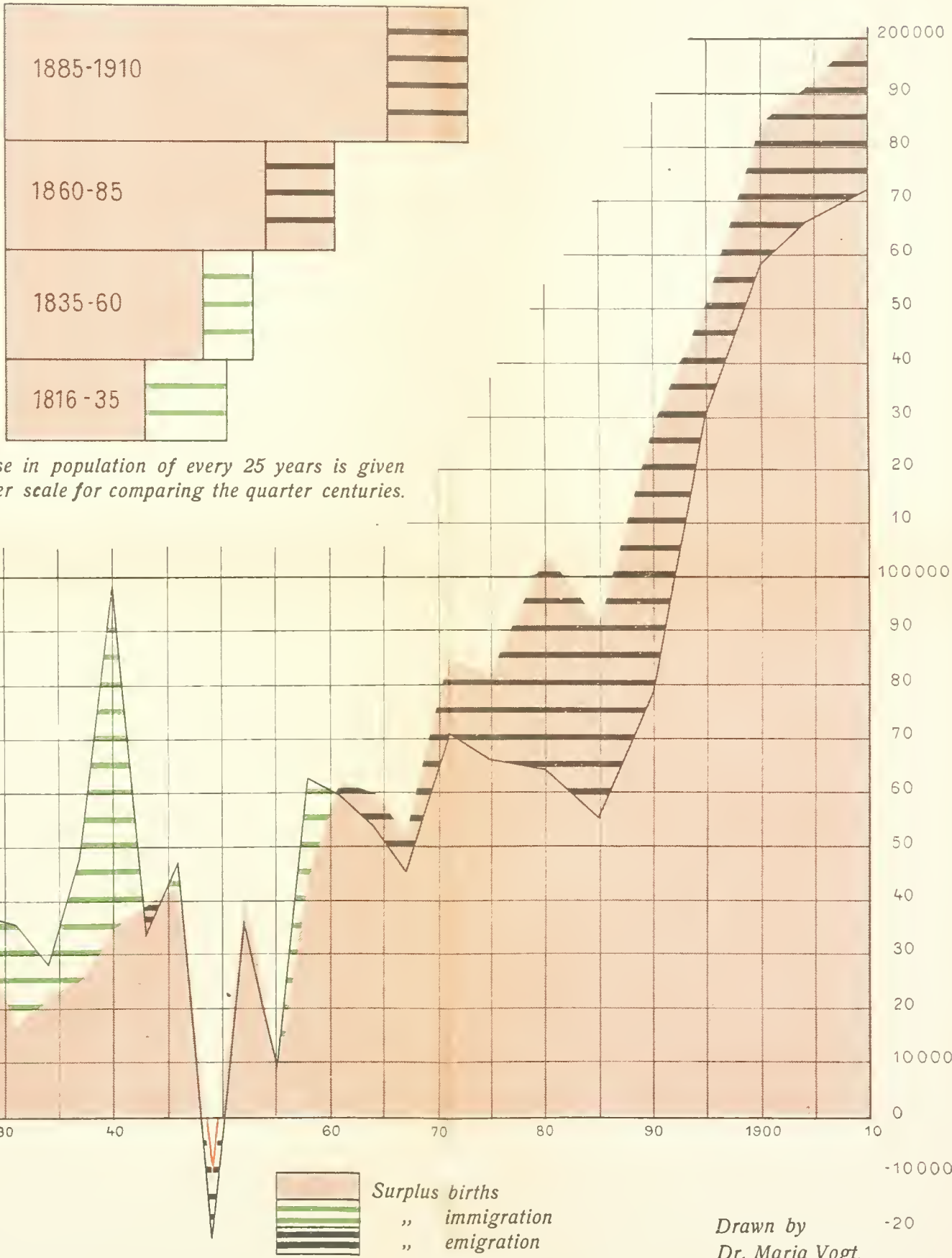
● : *Water tower.*

----- : *Border.*



The Increase of Population in Upper Silesia

through surplus of births, immigration and emigration



The results of the vote of the counties in proportion to the total number of persons eligible to vote.

(The blank squares represent the majority of votes; the coloured squares, the percentage share of the majority of votes in each district)

